

Town Meeting



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

BROADCAST BY STATIONS OF THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.



What Should the United Nations Do About Palestine?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

EMANUEL NEUMANN
GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.
JOHN G. HAZAM

(See also page 13)

COMING

—October 26, 1948—

What Hope for Europe Now?

—November 2, 1948—

No Town Meeting Broadcast

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THE BROADCAST OF OCTOBER 26:

"What Hope for Europe Now?"



THE BROADCAST OF NOVEMBER 2:

Town Meeting will not be held because of election returns broadcast.



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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



OCTOBER 19, 1948

VOL. 14, No. 26

What Should the U.N. Do About Palestine?

Announcer:

Well, friends, we're back in Town Hall tonight for the 531st session of your Town Meeting. You have just heard the crier's bell announcing tonight's subject and speakers. Sounds like a very interesting and important subject, doesn't it? The speakers are outstanding authorities.

Now why not be a modern town crier yourself and go to the telephone right now and call one of your friends whom you think might not be listening and tell him or her about tonight's program? You'll have about two minutes before the first speaker begins. You can double the size of our Town Meeting audience this way and by doing so you are helping promote good citizenship and understanding of the great issues before us today.

Remember this is your Town Meeting. For nearly 14 years, its programs have been built in response to your suggestions. So phone your neighbors now and

remind them, during the week, of Town Meeting every Tuesday night.

Now to preside over our discussion, here is our moderator, the president of Town Hall, New York, and founder of America's Town Meeting of the Air, Mr. George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Most of you have heard on the radio or read in your afternoon papers, on the front page, the news that the Security Council of the United Nations meeting in Paris today, has ordered an immediate and effective "cease fire" by the Israeli and Egyptian forces who have been fighting for the past four days in Southern Palestine and the desert.

Why this sudden action? Why and what does it mean to us? Let's see.

As some of you will recall, sporadic fighting between the

Arabs and the Jews started shortly after the UN partition plan was voted November 29 of last year. Full scale war broke out about the middle of May.

To stop this war, the United Nations appointed as mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden on May 20. Count Bernadotte's first efforts were to bring about a truce which was effected last July 15 under the threat of sanctions by the Security Council. During that truce, he worked with both Arabs and Jews to try to effect a settlement which might be satisfactory to both sides.

Before his plan was made public, he was assassinated on September 17 by the Stern gang, characterized by the Israeli government and others as a criminal gang more than 100 of whom have been arrested by the Jewish state and are now in prison.

On September 20, Count Bernadotte's report was made public. Among other things, he recommended that failing an agreed settlement between the parties, Jerusalem be made an international city and that the Negev area in Southern Palestine go to the Arabs and that Western Galilee go to the Jews.

This was a departure from the original boundaries recommended by the United Nations last November and was immediately rejected by both Arabs and Jews.

However, hostilities broke out again four days ago in the Negev

area and the question was again brought before the Security Council of the UN with the result announced tonight.

Your Town Meeting has held many sessions on the Palestine question as it so vitally affects the interests of the great powers that a blunder here might lead to a much wider conflict. So to keep you up to date on this vital question, we've invited Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. John G. Hazan, Major George Fielding Eliot, and Dr. Walter L. Wright, all authorities on this question, to speak here tonight. May we hear first from Dr. Emanuel Neumann, President of the Zionist Organization of America, a member of the New York Bar, member of the Jewish Agency Executives. Dr. Neumann (*Applause.*)

Dr. Neumann:

Thank you, Mr. Denny. I'm going to try to base my remarks tonight on fact, rather than emotion, as you suggested.

The essential fact of our problem is that the United Nations *has* acted on Palestine. The most elementary demand to be addressed to the UN now is that it respect its own decision and not further confuse a situation already badly confused.

The world is growing weary of this interminable conflict. Great Britain declared that it was weary of attempting to reconcile apparently irreconcilable claims. The

is why the question was referred to the UN. The UN undertook to arrive at a reasonable solution, a reasonable compromise if necessary. It did its best.

Let me remind you that the committee which studied the Palestine question on behalf of the UN and finally recommended the partition of the country into Jewish and Arab states, the UNSCOP, was made up of eleven small countries that had no special interest, played no power politics, but tried to find a solution in accordance with justice and peace.

After further prolonged consideration by the General Assembly of the UN, these recommendations were substantially adopted by an overwhelming vote on November 29, 1947. In the judgment of the nations of the world, the partition plan adopted was a reasonable compromise which rendered substantial justice to Jews and Arabs.

It is true that the Arabs promptly defied the UN, threatened to upset the settlement by violence. It is true that they subsequently made good their threats of bloodshed. But that does not alter the fact that the highest international tribunal of civilized mankind had rendered a verdict in the interests of peace and justice.

What actually happened since then? Let's look at the record. UN resolution provided for specific action by four parties: (a)

The British were to leave Palestine in a certain manner and hand over their authority to the United Nations committee. (b) Various bodies of the United Nations, notably the Security Council, were to exercise their responsibility under the resolution. (c) The Arabs and (d) the Jews were to set up governments in the parts of Palestine allotted to them respectively, and above all, they were to refrain from using force to upset this partition plan.

Now I don't like to sound self-righteous but the facts are there, fresh in everybody's mind.

The fact is, the British did not leave Palestine in the manner prescribed but tried to sabotage the plan.

The fact is that the United Nations bodies, especially the Security Council, did not do their part in carrying out the Assembly's resolution.

The fact is that the Arabs did use force, brute force, in an attempt to nullify the United Nations decision, while others, many others, tried intrigue and underhanded tactics to the same end.

The fact is that the Jews did accept the resolution in good faith, acted accordingly, set up their own State, in the territory allotted to them, and that it was left to the Jews alone, singlehanded, unaided, to defend themselves against brazen Arab aggression. They had to stand up against the armies of five Arab states, some well

equipped and officered by the British.

It is a sad fact that the United Nations did not punish the Arab aggressors. Instead a truce was organized under which aggressor and victim were, at best, treated as equals. Had it not been for the courage and heroism with which the Jews defended themselves against overwhelming odds, Israel would have been wiped out by now without anyone in the wide world lifting a finger to save it.

As it turned out, Israel was victorious but it has bought its freedom very dearly in terms of life and treasure by the heroism of its young manhood.

Now, another attempt is being made to reduce the territory of Israel and to weaken it so that it will be unable to survive in the long run. This attempt is presented to the world under the appealing name of the Bernadotte Plan, but it represents in truth the views of certain anti-Israel officials in Britain.

What should the United Nations do now about Palestine? My answer in very simple language, is this:

Uphold the cause of justice.

Uphold the authority of the United Nations.

Reaffirm the resolution of November 29, 1947.

Admit the Jewish state to membership in the United Nations as promised.

Order the Arab states to negotiate a peace with Israel.

Censure the Arab government for having undertaken this brazen concerted attack in the Holy Land. If necessary draw the consequences from that attack and from the UN's inability to maintain peace in Israel.

Let Israel administer the Jewish part of Jerusalem so that the Jews living in the Holy City may be secure in their lives and property from further attack.

Call upon the Arabs to desist from further use of force, warning them that otherwise they will be dealt with as violators of the United Nations Charter.

Call upon the Arabs to organize their regime in the Arab part of Palestine and to make their peace with the Jews. If this be done, we may hope that peace and justice will again reign in the Holy Land. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Neumann. This wouldn't be a Town Meeting if there weren't another side to the case, and now I'm very happy to present Dr. John G. Hazam, professor of history at the College of the City of New York and president of the Institute of American Affairs who speaks for himself. Dr. Hazam. (*Applause*)

Dr. Hazam:

I should like to point out to Dr. Neumann that no just or lasting solution of the Palestine problem

can be made unless it gains the full consent and support of the majority of the legitimate inhabitants of the country, both Arabs and Jews.

This truth has been embodied in international principle of self-determination by the majority of the people ever since Wilson's fourteen points. It was subsequently incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations and more recently in the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations.

Indeed, the very first article of the United Nations Charter says that one of the purposes of the United Nations is to develop "respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." Also, "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

It should have been simple enough to carry out these very clear provisions of the Charter. Down to the outbreak of armed hostilities between the Arabs and the Zionists a few months ago, the Arabs constituted roughly a two-thirds majority of the population. Thus, Palestine, by every law and by any definition of rights, is an Arab country.

In the spring of 1947 when the issue first came before the United Nations Assembly, the logical and equitable settlement should have been to recommend the independence of Palestine with proper in-

ternational safeguards for all of its minorities.

However, the Assembly did not do this, because the great powers preferred to play power politics with the issue, just as their local politicians have been using it for years as a football of domestic politics.

The United States, egged on by strong Zionist pressure in an election year, decided on partition, and rammed this sorry scheme through the United Nations Assembly in a manner rightly described by many eye-witnesses as sordid and dishonorable.

Indeed, instead of giving us peace, as the Zionist propaganda had assured us it would, the partition plan immediately brought about bloody war. Thus self-determination was deliberately denied to the native Arab majority and accorded to an alien Zionist minority.

This direct and deplorable breach of the United Nations Charter, which doesn't seem to bother Dr. Neumann, also involved a shocking repudiation of the principle of equal rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Charter. It implied a brazen discrimination against the Arabs. Indeed, the whole history of the Palestine tragedy, from the Balfour Declaration, itself, and the League of Nations Mandate, down to the latest partition plan, is permeated, shot through, with such arrant discrimination.

The average Westerner, brought up in Sunday School to associate Palestine only with Jewish Biblical lore, tends to regard Arabs as backward Asiatic people, who follow strange ways and worship strange gods. Therefore, they're not entitled, he thinks, to equal treatment with progressive, gadget-using, Westerners and westernized Jews. Yet, the United Nations Charter recognizes no master race or chosen people, whether they be Jew or Gentile.

It is incredible that the Zionists, who rightly denounced discrimination when practiced against the Jews in Europe, should champion it in the United Nations and practice it generally against the Arabs of Palestine.

Any plan which envisages the establishment or recognition in Palestine of a sovereign Jewish state would not only do violence to the United Nations Charter, but it would be the worse possible solution for everyone concerned. It would be bad for world Jewry, as well as for the Arabs, and for American interests, as well as for the remaining prospects of world peace.

It is a belief of many observers, both Jews and Christians, that political Zionism has done more harm even to its own people, than it has good. At least, in the eyes of the Moslem world, as Dr. Neumann must well know, Zionism has become adept in the art of losing friends and making enemies.

If the Washington Administration is successfully intimidated by the Zionist lobby into promoting such a state, we will be risking loss of our moral and material interests in the Middle East, and jeopardizing our world leadership in the eyes of all Asia.

Only Soviet Russia can reap dividends from such an unwise and mischievous policy. Any proposed solution for the Palestine problem which seeks to deprive the native population of the country of its political birthright, or any substantial part of it, is bound in the long run to fail, and fail miserably.

There is no other settlement but the application of the principle of self-determination and majority rule in a unitary state, with wide autonomy and adequate international guarantees for all the minorities. Only this can enhance the waning prestige of the United Nations and bring peace, with justice, to the Holy Land. (A pause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Hazam. George Fielding Eliot, columnist for the *New York Post*, and author of the recent book on Middle Eastern affairs called *Hate, Hope, and Hopeless Explosives* has just returned from an extended trip to the Middle East and a quick trip to the Security Council Meeting in Paris so we are most anxious to hear what he has to say on tonight

question. Major George Fielding Eliot. (*Applause.*)

Major Eliot:

The major responsibility of the United Nations in Palestine is the restoration of peace. This involves as a primary step recognition of the fact that the State of Israel exists as a living entity (*applause*) and it cannot be destroyed by any force which the Arab states are capable of bringing against it. (*Applause.*)

I saw the Israeli Army and all of the Arab armies earlier this year and can testify that this is so. This fundamental fact is now recognized as the basis for both British and American official policy toward Palestine. It was set forth as the primary thesis in the report of the United Nations' mediator, the late Count Bernadotte.

There is no longer any validity whatever, in arguing, as Dr. Hazam argues, that Israel ought not to exist. It does exist. (*Applause.*)

What remains to be settled are the terms on which peace can be brought about between Israel and her neighbors. Obviously the present uneasy truce cannot long continue. Either there will be peace, or there will be a renewal of full scale hostilities.

If there is a renewal of hostilities, the Israeli Army will occupy the whole of Palestine. (*Applause.*) I need not rest on my own unsupported opinion as to this. The same thing has been

bluntly told to the British Government by Brigadier Glubb Pasha, lately commandant of the Arab Legion, the Army of Transjordan.

The same thing is being told today to the Arab delegations in Paris by the British. The United Nations should do everything possible to prevent the renewal of war in Palestine. This is their duty—to prevent war, to bring about peace. It remains to be asked how this can be done.

The principal question to be settled is that of the frontiers of the new state. The late Count Bernadotte recommended that the frontiers should be settled by direct negotiation between the parties concerned or failing that, by United Nations action.

I am unable to agree with Dr. Neumann that this represents the view of anti-Israeli officials in the British Cabinet. The anti-Israeli point of view is rather on the down turn in British official circles just now. It has proved to have been based on an illusion and more sensible counsels are taking precedence.

I've just returned from Paris where this problem is being examined to determine what United Nations action can be taken which would bring about such direct negotiations between the parties concerned, or if this proves impossible, will settle the frontier problem otherwise.

There is complete agreement between the American and British

delegations in Paris that these direct negotiations would be, by all means, the best way to settle the frontier question. The Arab state chiefly involved in this frontier matter is Transjordan.

There is good reason to suppose that King Abdullah of Transjordan would be willing to enter into negotiations on a realistic basis. However he doesn't have complete freedom of action to do so as great pressure is being brought on him by other Arab governments. The Transjordan army is the best one among the Arab armies but Transjordan is a small state weak in resources, and must go on living with its Arab neighbors after the peace settlement is made, so Abdullah hesitates. On the whole, there is no great hope expressed in Paris that direct negotiations can be brought about right away.

The course to be followed as now suggested by the acting UN mediator, Dr. Bunche, is a resolution by the General Assembly recognizing the permanent existence of the State of Israel, laying down certain general principles as to its relations with its Arab neighbors, and appointing a United Nations committee of conciliation to aid in the final delimitation of its frontiers.

This would amount to bringing the full pressure of world opinion on the Arabs to enter into realistic negotiations, with the alternative of defying the UN and facing a

war with Israel in which they would be certain to lose not part but all of Palestine.

This course of action has, in general, both American and British support, but neither of these powers has the slightest intention of using force to compel the adoption of a given settlement. And since the United Nations has no other means of doing so, it is obvious that, in the end, the superior military power of Israel will be the primary factor in determining Israel's frontiers and that the wisest course for the Arab states to adopt is to make with Israel, directly, the best terms that can be negotiated.

The role of the United Nations in this settlement is surely that of mediator and conciliator, with special effort directed toward inducing the Arab states to understand the necessity for realistic negotiations.

This is the major theme of the effort now being made in Paris by the United Nations mediators and by the American and British delegations. If supported strongly by a General Assembly resolution backed by a powerful majority there is a reasonable chance that these efforts may succeed and that peace may come again to the Holy Land. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, George Fielding Eliot. Some people say that the subject is very simple, others that

it's very complicated. We'll let the audience be the judge. But there's still another viewpoint on this question and it will be presented by Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., who is professor of Turkish language and history at Princeton University, and former president of the American College for Girls and Robert College in Istanbul. We're anxious to hear what you have to say, Dr. Wright. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Wright:

Every man and woman of good will or moral principle should be dismayed and shocked, as I am, by the facts of the Palestine situation. The world's idealism and its instruments, the United Nations, are being used to support the conquest of one people's country by another people. Force, not justice or right, is at work in Palestine today.

A solution that is to have any chance of lasting beyond a few weeks must be based on the facts, but a screen of propaganda hides the essential facts or distorts them.

What are the facts?

First, the well-trained, well-armed Zionist Army has utterly defeated the Arabs, as Major Eliot has pointed out, but he failed to say that it has conquered also the Arab cities of Jaffa and Acre, as well as Arab Galilee and most of the international city of Jerusalem. Dr. Neumann also failed to point that out.

I wonder if you know that it is the only effective force in Palestine today; that it is strong enough to take and hold more living space if it wants to. So, any proposal for peace, must either be acceptable to the Zionist Army, or must be backed by enough force to overawe it or to overpower it.

Second, the United Nations is weak. What strength it has lies in the ability to mobilize world opinion. Economic or military force can be applied only by the Security Council, which is paralyzed by the cold war between the Soviets and the Western Powers. So the ability to create a "bad press," a pretty mild form of moral suasion, is the chief asset of the UN as it deals with Zionists flushed by victory. World opinion is heavily prejudiced in favor of any position the Zionists may choose, for their propaganda fills press and radio.

Third, Count Bernadotte's proposed compromise is not acceptable to the Zionists. They want all that they have conquered and now hold, plus the whole Negev. The shock of Bernadotte's martyrdom is wearing off. The world's conscience has a poor memory. Dr. Neumann is already able to insinuate that Bernadotte was a sly, crooked agent of British policy. (*Shouts.*)

The United Nations, the United States, Britain and France support Bernadotte's plan, but will they use economic or military force to implement it? The Soviets on the other hand support the original

partition plan. So the Security Council is already split wide open.

These are controlling facts, as I see them. They leave open to the United Nations only the following steps which I believe it can and should take:

1. It should make with the Israeli conquerors the best deal that it can persuade them to agree to. I can see no other way to prevent their conquering more Arab land and driving out the inhabitants. The Arabs object that such a deal is based on nothing but stark, naked power politics—not on justice. They are right, but for the present, they are too weak to do anything effective about it. Dr. Hazam's logic on this is convincing, but the Zionists answer it with bullets, not reason. (*Applause.*)

2. The United Nations should provide for the relief and resettlement of the 400,000 Arabs who have fled from Zionist-held territory and for the 7,000 Jewish refugees from Arab-held areas. Note these figures. Already, several times as many Arab displaced persons have resulted from the United Nations misguided handling of the Palestine problem as there are Jews in all the camps of Europe.

3. The United Nations and the American people should realize clearly that the arrangement I propose can be only temporary. It can last as long or as short a time as the Israeli Army is stronger than any other force in Palestine.

Forty million Arabs of the world cannot help regarding Zionism as an aggressive movement infiltrating and conquering territory which has been Arab for more than 1,000 years. The Arabs are not being infected with the intolerant aggressive, East European nationalism of their Zionist enemies. To them, Zionism is what Germany was to France.

Israel is their Alsace Lorraine. They are planning to develop the great potential wealth and strength to regain Palestine by force. It took them 80 years to reconquer Palestine from the Crusaders.

I believe that I have given the true picture of what the UN could do about Palestine now. It amounts to a desperate, ugly, and purely temporary job. It can't last long. It ought to take these steps, though, because, today, only brute force counts in Palestine. Until the Zionist conquest is halted, reason, justice, and peace, and the rights of the majority of the Palestinians have no chance. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

I'm afraid there are some members of our audience here tonight who don't know Town Meeting manners. We don't hiss and boo in Town Meeting. We don't try to answer arguments with cat-calls and hisses. (*Applause.*)

Remember this program is well balanced and those of you who advocate one side have two very competent speakers up here who can

meet reasoned statements with equal well-reasoned statements, and I'm sure they do not welcome support in terms of boos and hisses.

Now, gentlemen, let's go on with our discussion period. If you'll join me up here around the microphone we'll start with Dr. Neumann who hasn't been heard from for a while. Dr. Neumann, you probably have a question or comment you'd like to make about something that's been said since you spoke.

Dr. Neumann: Yes, Mr. Denny, it is rather difficult for me to make out the case which is presented here in behalf of the Arabs or pro-Arabs. I don't quite understand it. It's being said now that the Jews are conquerors in Palestine—they're conquering the

Arabs, there. Of course, they hadn't started this war.

On the other hand, the decision of the United Nations, tonight, is represented as something, well, phoney or whatever you might call it.

Now, I'd like to know on which side they'd like to take their stand—whether they take the position that it is a question to be decided by force, and, if so, why do they complain about the Jews conquering? Or is it a question to be decided under international law? In that case, why not accept the verdict of the highest international tribunal of the United Nations? (*Applause.*)

It is difficult for me to understand their position.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

EMANUEL NEUMANN—Dr. Neumann is president of the Zionist Organization of America and a member of the Jewish Agency Executive.

JOHN G. HAZAM—Dr. Hazam is president of the Institute of Arab American Affairs and professor of history at the College of the City of New York.

WALTER LIVINGSTON WRIGHT, JR.—Born in Pennsylvania in 1900, Dr. Wright has his Bachelor's and Doctor's degrees from Princeton. His Master's degree he received from the American University at Beirut, Syria, where he was an instructor of history and English for four years. From 1925 to 1930, Dr. Wright was a graduate fellow in history at Princeton. He also engaged in research in Turkish language and history, and from 1930 to 1935 was assistant professor of history.

In 1935, Dr. Wright became president of American College for Girls and of Robert College, both at Istanbul, Turkey. This position he held until 1944 when he became chief historian for the U. S. War Department General Staff. In 1946, he

taught at the National War College, and since 1946, has been a professor of Turkish language and history at Princeton. Dr. Wright is the author of *Ottoman Statecraft*, as well as articles and reviews.

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT—A columnist for the *New York Post*, Mr. Eliot is author of the book, *Hate, Hope and High Explosives*. He is one of the best known among military analysts either on the air or in the press. Major Eliot was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1894. After his graduation from Melbourne University in Australia, he served with the Australian Imperial Force from 1914 to 1918. From 1922 until 1930 he served as a captain and later as a major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the United States Army. After five years as an accountant in Kansas City, Missouri, Major Eliot began writing for fiction magazines in 1926. Since 1928 he has written especially on military and international affairs and on military defense.

Major Eliot's books include *If War Comes*, *The Ramparts We Watch*, *Bombs Bursting in Air*, and *Hour of Triumph*.

Hazam, we'll start with you, please.

Dr. Hazam: I have two bones to pick with Dr. Neumann tonight. One is the statement, which he has continuously made throughout his paper, that there has been a United Nations decision on the question. There has been no such thing. What there was, was a recommendation by the Assembly of the League; one of the branches of the League issued a recommendation.

United Nations is not a single national government. It doesn't legislate; it doesn't issue decrees. It merely makes recommendations; and what is more it has no force to enforce these recommendations. They might be accepted or rejected.

This isn't the only recommendation that has been rejected. There have been two in South Africa that have been rejected. One in the Balkans has been rejected; one in Korea has been rejected.

If anybody suggests that force might be used to carry them out, why not use force to carry out those in South Africa, those in Korea, and those in the Balkans against Russia, and against the Union of South Africa, which refuses to carry them out. There is no decision.

The second point I wish to dwell upon is the question of aggression. I just want to make it clear, who is the aggressor, who is aggressing against whom? It isn't the Arabs who picked up

their guns and went to Poland and Lithuania, and Rumania, and elsewhere, and ousted the Jews from their homes. It's the Poles, the Romanians, the Hungarians, the Lithuanians who went to the East and ousted the Arabs from their homes. They were waging their own business there. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Neumann addressed his question to both you, so Mr. Wright has better comment now. Let's see where he stands on this.

Dr. Wright: I was prepared to ask a couple questions myself. Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Well, are you willing to let Dr. Hazam's answer suffice for you?

Dr. Wright: No, I'm not willing to let Dr. Hazam's answer suffice for me. I think the basic question which was raised by Dr. Neumann is this: What are the facts? Who came and took whose country with whose help?

After all, to the simple eye of a college professor, it seems to be a fact that some more than half a million Jews — German Jews — managed to get into Palestine before the start of the British Army, with a Jewish international movement to help them out. They established themselves there at a time when they didn't any longer need the support of the British, and chased them out. (Applause and laughter.) Now they're engaged

in carving out a state for themselves.

This sort of thing has happened lots of times in the past. Our ancestors came to this country and took it away from people. I don't see why Dr. Neumann and other advocates of the Zionist cause try to present this as being a high-level moral operation. I don't regard it as such on the part of my ancestors and I don't see why he should take any special privilege to himself either. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Perhaps we had better hear from Mr. Eliot at this point.

Major Eliot: There is one point that Dr. Hazam has raised about this United Nation's resolution in the General Assembly. He overlooked the fact, I think, that Palestine was a mandated territory of the League of Nations. The General Assembly has a special legal position under the charter with regard to the disposition of mandated territories and, when the mandatory power of Great Britain announced that the mandate was being given up, there is no question whatever that the General Assembly was that body of the United Nations which, under the Charter, had the responsibility for the disposition of Palestine. These are the legal facts and they ought to be taken into account. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Hazam: I am afraid the Major hasn't read his Charter very closely. The fact of the matter is

that the recommendation read that it is to make a recommendation to Great Britain, the mandatory power, as to what the future government of Palestine shall be. Notice it said *government* and not *governments*. And it said *Palestine* not *two Palestines*.

Secondly, that recommendation was that the other powers who received it may then go ahead and implement it. Not one of those powers has undertaken to do any such thing. So the recommendation is merely void.

Furthermore when the Security Council met, it considered this recommendation of the Assembly. Did it do anything about it? No, it completely disregarded it, refused to reaffirm it, and what is more, went around looking for another solution for the Palestine problems.

It was during that time in May, when the Security Council was looking for another solution that the Zionists illegally proclaimed the state. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Hazam. Dr. Neumann.

Major Eliot: Just a moment, Mr. Denny. I read the charter fairly carefully and with some regard to the special position of the General Assembly with regard to mandates. But the particular point was made with regard to the Security Council. The Security Council is not required to review decisions of this sort with regard

to mandated territories and trusteeship territories.

Security Council, in May, was faced with a breach of peace and it failed to come to any decision as to a settlement of the breach of the peace—a very different thing than what Dr. Hazam has said.

Dr. Hazam: The other thing that you said was that Palestine passed to the jurisdiction of the United Nations when the mandate ceases. That is not so. Unless Great Britain asks for a trusteeship agreement before it left and got it, Palestine belonged after May 15, to the people who reside there, and those people are two-thirds Arab. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Neumann?

Dr. Neumann: I first have a little bone to pick with my good friend, Dr. Wright, who said something about my reference to Bernadotte. I said nothing of the kind about him that was crooked or anything of the sort. (*Applause.*) I merely said that the plan represents certain views which are entertained by anti-Israel officials in Britain and that is my opinion. I have cast no reflection upon the late Count Bernadotte.

Now I do have, however, a more serious point or two to raise with our friends. Dr. Hazam kept harping on the fact that there is a people in Palestine and the majority of the people should deter-

mine its future, etc. But Mr. Hazam has completely overlooked the essential point that there are not just people in Palestine, but there are two peoples—two nations in Palestine, quite distinct. The United Nations as well as the League of Nations recognized that at the outset.

If you try to do justice, when you have such a situation of that kind, and you don't want to place one of the peoples wholly under the dominance of the other, you have to find some other solution. In this case, the UN solved it by partition. It is not new, novel, revolutionary procedure.

In the case of India, Dr. Hazam, you will admit that the majority of the people of India are Hindu. There is a Moslem minority. The Moslem minority absolutely refused to submit to the Hindu majority and insisted upon a state of their own—Pakhistan—and eventually we had partition of India to satisfy the Moslem minority.

In the case of Palestine, the United Nations decided upon partition so as to give both Jews and Arabs an opportunity there.

Now, I want to just add one more word with regard to what Dr. Wright has said. He harped upon the brute force, sheer force used by the Jews now in Palestine and I must, really I am compelled to ask the question. You either rest solution upon strength, upon force, or upon moral sanction—one of the two.

Now the Arabs started the use of force against the decision of the United Nations. Whatever moral sanction there is in the world today rests with this international organization. There is no other, as between two contending parties that is completely fair and impartial, and I fail to understand, still, how it's possible, on the one hand, to speak of this brute force used by the Jews and on the other hand to call into question the moral sanction of the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Just one minute, Mr. Wright, and we must pause for a station break.

Dr. Wright: This is the statement by Dr. Neumann. "Now another attempt is being made to reduce the territory of Israel and to weaken it so that it would be unable to survive in the long run, either economically or militarily. This attempt is presented to the world under the name 'Bernadotte Plan.'" If that is not an insinuation, I don't know an insinuation when I see one. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, while our speakers get ready for our question period, I'm sure that you, our listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting, originating tonight in Town Hall, New York. We're discussing the question, "What Should the UN Do About Palestine?" You have

just heard Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. John G. Hazam, George Fielding Eliot, and Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr. We're about to take questions from the audience.

For your convenience, Town Hall prints each week a complete text of each Town Meeting, including the questions and answers to follow in the Town Meeting Bulletin. A copy of tonight's program, as well as all past and future programs may be secured by writing to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. You should allow at least two weeks for delivery.

If you'd like to subscribe to the Bulletin for six months, enclose \$2.35; for a year, send \$4.50, or if you'd like a trial subscription, enclose one dollar for 11 issues.

Each week we receive news of groups organized in homes, schools, clubs, and churches, to listen regularly to Town Meeting, and to carry on their discussions afterwards. You can increase your enjoyment of Town Meeting the same way. So why not invite your friends over for the next Tuesday night, when Town Meeting will discuss the question "What Hope For Europe?"

If you'd like suggestions for conducting your meetings, write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. Now for our question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now we're ready for questions here in Town Hall. We'll start with the gentleman over there in the center of the hall.

Man: Mr. Denny, my question is directed to Dr. Neumann. How can the UN order and expect immediate peace when the United Nations has nothing to back up its orders as it is so unsettled itself? How can you expect the UN to back up an order if the organization itself is so unsettled and is having arguments inside itself? It isn't really a UN.

Dr. Neumann: Yes, I quite understand the point. You're quite right. The UN has no army to enforce its decrees. It has moral force. It has also the power to impose economic sanctions. The least it could do is to brand an aggressor nation as an aggressor and let the consequences flow from that. There are a great many things the UN can still do even short of war and short of an armed force. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Hazam has a comment on that. Yes, Dr. Hazam?

Dr. Hazam: I just want to say one word—that there was no such thing as an order or a decree or anything else in the United Nations. It's all recommendations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: What was that "cease fire" order issued today by the—

Dr. Hazam: That is an order. That is an order, but—(*Applause and laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Well, I just want to get this straight. Thank you very much. (*Applause.*)

Lady: I address my question to Mr. Eliot. America has the Monroe Doctrine. Why not let the Arabs have a similar arrangement in the Middle East to protect themselves against invaders and aggressors?

Mr. Eliot: The Monroe Doctrine rested on the ability of the United States and of the British navy to maintain it by force. In general, nations which survive in this world are able to maintain themselves by force. The only force that is available in the Middle East at the present time, outside of American and British forces is the Israeli army. It is able, therefore, to establish a state of Palestine and to establish the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine to protect themselves and to have a living state and so it exists. If the Arabs were able to throw it out they would have done so long ago, but they weren't able to. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Dr. Hazam, step right up.

Dr. Hazam: The Arabs have a regional arrangement similar to the Monroe Doctrine. It is called the Arab League, and that League includes de facto Palestine. Therefore, this is one of the reasons why it is perfectly valid for the

Arabs to go into Palestine to protect their lot. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major Eliot.

Major Eliot: There's only one small difficulty about that which Dr. Hazam failed to mention. That is that the Arab part of Palestine is occupied by the only effective Arab army—the Arab League of King Abdullah—and that a rump government, claiming to be the government of Palestine has been set up at Gaza under the protection of the Egyptian troops. So it's a little difficult to determine whether the Arab League's government which cannot govern or King Abdullah's military government which can govern is the government of Arab Palestine. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Major. Dr. Hazam can you help to clarify this situation?

Dr. Hazam: I'm simply saying that what Major Eliot has propagated tonight is a regime of naked force and nothing else. There is no morality in this world, according to his interpretation of things.

Secondly, he has not said one word against the 400,000 refugees driven in terror and by ravages from Palestine who are Arabs. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Eliot: I would like to inquire what community in the world can survive or maintain order without use of force. Morality is all very well, but you can't even direct traffic on a village street

if you are going to depend on morality. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. What was that you said, Dr. Hazam?

Dr. Hazam: They must have moral principles behind them. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Gentleman in the aisle there.

Man: I have a question for Dr. Wright. In fact, I have about 50 questions for Dr. Wright. (*Laughter.*) Looking with the narrow eye of a college professor myself, I wish to more or less summarize all the questions into one—a question which has been troubling many people for many years.

Mr. Denny: In twenty-five words, please.

Man: Well, it might be answered in less than twenty-five words, Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: No, I mean ask it in twenty-five words.

Man: Do you think Hitler is still alive? (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: No, I'm sorry, we can't have that question. It's really off the subject. Take a question from the gentleman back there. In the back of the hall. (*Confusion.*)

Man: According to what he said there are 400,000 Arab displaced persons. If this figure is correct, what is the American public going to do about this tragic emergency?

Mr. Denny: He says that according to your figures there are 400,000 Arab displaced persons. What

are the American people going to do about it?

Dr. Wright: Thus far, the American people have succeeded in doing very little about it, but organization is being perfected at the present time to carry on a campaign to raise some money, in the tradition of American humanitarianism, to do things for these poor people of whom 76 per cent, I think, are women and children. Contributions, I believe, are being received now by an old established relief agency operating in the area, the Near East Foundation whose address is in every New York telephone book.

Mr. Denny: All right. Thank you. Oh, Major Eliot. Yes?

Major Eliot: I'd just like to add that the condition of these people is indeed pitiable. The rainy season is coming on. Many of them are living on the open hillsides. The United Nations mediator, Dr. Bunche, told me a good deal about the details of this matter the other day in Paris. He'd just returned from seeing the conditions there.

The United States and the British delegations have jointly proposed in Committee Three—that's the committee that considers economic and social questions—taking some action and there's some reason to believe that some government money will be put behind it. I'd like also to add that the Israeli delegation is indicating that Israel will do what they can to contribute

to the relief of these people. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Neumann: I should like to add just one more word. I think the whole problem would be facilitated if the scores of thousands of invading Arab soldiers from neighboring countries left Palestine. There'd be more room for their refugees to return into Palestine. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Wright: I simply rise to make an objection to the exploitation of the misery of these poor people for political purposes, which has just been done by my confrere on the platform, my old friend Dr. Neumann. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right. The lady on the aisle over there, please.

Lady: Dr. Neumann, do you think the territory of Negev is an important factor in the economic development of the state of Israel?

Dr. Neumann: Negev is the southern part which is mostly desert and which has to be reclaimed. It has tremendous potentialities but only if it is reclaimed with a great deal of effort. It's been lying there fallow for centuries. It can be reclaimed through irrigation schemes such as those which the Jews have been planning—the Jordan Valley Authority, etc.

The Arabs have tremendous territories round about which are hardly being used or employed to their capacity. They haven't shown any interest, any desire, any plan to develop the Negev.

The Jews are driven to develop it by reason of the fact that they need land, territory, in which to settle Jewish refugees. Therefore, if the Negev has any future at all, it will have so, provided it remains part of the state of Israel, as provided by the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady over here on the front.

Lady: Dr. Hazam. Are the Arabs in Palestine allowed to voice their opinion by legal ballot as the Jews are?

Dr. Hazam: The Arabs of Palestine have not had any self-government ever since the British administration has been there down to May.

Mr. Denny: What's that? Somebody's saying "Before?"

Dr. Hazam: I mean from the time the British came in 1917 down to May, 1948. Before that, under the Ottoman Empire, the Arabs had six delegates to the Turkish Parliament from Palestine alone — about 20 from the Arab world. They had, in other words, as good a democracy as you can find even in South America. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, very much, Dr. Hazam. Our time is up, now, and while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here is a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Before you hear the summaries of tonight's question, I am sure that you will be inter-

ested in a little advance information about several excellent Town Meeting programs that have been planned for November.

On November 2, Election Night, Town Meeting will give way to a special election night program to be presented by the American Broadcasting Company, with up-to-the-minute news and comments by leading ABC commentators.

On November 9, your Town Meeting subject will be, "What Should We Do About Race Segregation?" Our speakers will be Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the *Democrat Delta-Times* in Greenville, Mississippi; Raymond Sprigle, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* Pulitzer prize winner, who disguised himself and lived as a Negro in the south for four weeks.

On November 16 the subject will be, "What Should the Winning Party Do About the High Cost of Living?" The speakers for that program will be announced later.

Now for the summaries of tonight's discussion.

Dr. Wright: This much is perfectly clear, Mr. Denny. None of the proposed settlements will seem just to both the Zionists and the Arabs. No proposal of the United Nations means anything unless it is backed by force. No such force is in sight, so a just

and lasting peace is out of the question for the time being.

That's why I urge temporary but realistic measures—try to negotiate with the Zionist conquerors a halt to their conquest; try to bind up the wounds.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. George Fielding Eliot.

Mr. Eliot: There is just one thought I should like to leave with you. It's the same one with which I began my opening talk. The State of Israel is a living reality established by the courage and address at arms of its people. It has earned the right to live by reason of the thousands who were willing to die that it should live.

To those who say that this is an appeal to force, it is only necessary to reply that force is, alas, essential to survival in a world in which there is as yet no rule of law between nations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now Dr. Hazam.

Dr. Hazam: No amount of argument will change this fact—that Palestine is a land of the Arabs, with an Arab majority. No imperially inspired Balfour Declaration, no high-pressure Zionist propaganda, no vote-catching congressional resolutions or party political platforms, no sordidly gotten recommendation from the United Nations Assembly—not even the fanfared proclamation of a Jewish State can peacefully alter that basic reality. Without its

recognition there is no lasting peace.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Hazam. Now Dr. Neumann, your final summary.

Dr. Neumann: Rarely has the world been confronted with such a clear issue as this one. A small people oppressed for centuries was granted its right to independence by the highest international tribunal—the United Nations. It has since vindicated its rights in the judgment of the United Nations by its own valor on the field of battle. It now offers peace on honorable terms to those who sought to crush its new won freedom.

The world applauds these defenders. It calls upon the aggressor states to desist and listen to the voice of reason. It hopes that Israel will live and long endure true to the noblest traditions of its history. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Neumann. Ladies and gentlemen throughout this great land of ours we hope tonight has given you more food for objective thinking and straightforward reasoning. Now don't forget, my friends, that you may have a copy of this program complete with questions and answers in a bulletin that's provided for your convenience by sending 10 cents to Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

Next week, we take up another major subject before the United

Nations — the conflict between Russia and the Western democracies in Berlin. Our subject will be, "What Hope for Europe?" Our speakers will be four celebrated

correspondents and commentators: Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn, William L. Shirer, Norman Cousins and Paul Manning — all recently returned from Europe.

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